4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

423 184 from Bang Chan, the figure is as high as 85 percent (Dobby 1950). In these terms, therefore, it is best to view the incidence of land tenancy in Bang Chan as largely a function of local, historical circumstances.

369 177 A final word should be said about Bang Chan's proximity and accessibility to Bangkok—the cornucopia of so much that is new, interesting, and desirable (if somewhat equivocally) to most Siamese peasants. It is clear that Bang Chan's closeness to the capital creates certain conditions that would not be present in a community situated, for example, 200 kilometers, instead of 31 kilometers, from the nation's largest city. Simply on practical grounds, this nearness to the city permits the villagers to take advantage of opportunities—economic, recreational, and religious—which those living in distant provinces can obtain only after serious consideration of the financial and psychological expenses involved: "Do I have shoes to wear in the city? Do they treat people from the provinces well? With whom will I stay? Do I have the train fare?" A Bang Chaner who visits the capital [494] does not have to make such financial or emotional commitments, since it is only a one hour, three and one-half baht (seventeen and one-half cents) bus ride back home, although many do share with their up-country cousins the peasant's apprehensions about city manners.

The attractions of Bangkok take several forms: off-season jobs, medical care, kinship ties, special schools, great market places, famed monasteries or fairs, and the many other places where one can go to have fun. A survey [484] conducted in Bang Chan during 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis 1957) indicates that 62 percent of all household heads in the village visited Bangkok more than twice during the year for just such purposes. (Twenty-one percent had not gone to Bangkok at all, and 23 percent had gone more than ten times.) Many villagers, particularly younger men, attracted by the promise 369 177 167 of regular wages, lighter work, and the bright lights of the city, leave Bang Chan with the hope that they will never have to return, although of course [464] many do. The Goldsen-Ralis survey reveals that 26 percent of their re- [701] spondents had lived in Bangkok for a year or more, although for most this was in fulfillment of military service.

369 177 181 Living in Bangkok is not something that is desired in and of itself. Bang Chaners are keenly aware of the disadvantages of city living—particularly its great expense and insecurity—and are impressed only by those individuals who have made a success out of their urban sojourn. Most would agree that a Bangkok coolie, for all his exposure to the wonders of the modern world, lives a considerably less attractive life than they do.

369 177 The frequent transit between Bang Chan and Bangkok,[8] however,

[8] Of less practical consequence than their direct personal experiences and word-of-mouth contacts, but not to be ignored, are the villagers' contacts with Bangkok by way of radio, newspapers, books, and of course by way of what their children bring

[209] [204] [871]

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

continually brings to the attention of the villagers urban standards and aspirations which, whenever possible, they attempt to apply to themselves. L. M. Hanks (1959*b*: 19) sees the operation of this characteristic acculturative mechanism in Bang Chan in terms of the villagers' "search for respectability": "A respectable cremation requires an orchestra; a respectable dwelling a tile roof; a respectable sickness an injection; and a respectable family must chaperone carefully its growing daughters. So run a host of points which help to bolster but not necessarily to advance social position."

Yet, after the relationship between village and town has been considered, Bang Chan remains very much a peasant community, whose residents are concerned first and foremost with the cultivation of rice, the maintenance of their monastery, and their own immediate social environment. Despite aspirations, many Bang Chan cremations must go without the orchestra; most dwellings lack the tile roof; injections are taken only by those who can afford them; and the necessity for boys and girls to work together during harvest time, a period of unavoidably infectious joy, precludes any rigidly imposed chaperonage. Perhaps the best assessment of the cultural position of Bang Chan was provided by the writer's field assistant—an individual born and reared in a village in the Northeast who, although in many respects worldly and urbane, maintained an almost passionate identification with his peasant background—who said: "When I first came here to Bang Chan, I never thought that people living so close to Bangkok could be *real* Thai villagers. But they are. They are not as friendly and hospitable as Northeastern peasants, and they are more interested in money, but they have a much greater love of the land. No city person could ever think and feel as they do."

Family Life and Social Organization

In terms of the traditional categories of social structural analysis, the social organization of Bang Chan is strikingly simple. There are essentially only five social units which demand, and toward which villagers express, relatively enduring psychological commitments. These are the nuclear family;

home from school, the curriculum for which is written and directed by Ministry of Education officials in the city. Approximately 14 percent of Bang Chan households have battery driven radios (there is no electricity in the village) and approximately 60 percent of the villagers can read, although considerably fewer actually have the proficiency to go comfortably through a newspaper; theoretically the same number of people can write, but few Bang Chan adults have the courage to take pencil to paper without feeling discomfort over their handwriting, spelling, and knowledge of stylistic forms. Newspapers that people bring home from town are passed around and read more for their entertainment than information; the few books that are seen in the village are pulp magazines, religious or moralistic writings, and occasionally do-it-yourself pamphlets ("How to Raise Chickens the Modern Way").

Communications Media

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With the increasing use of mass communications, the community member is exposed to sources of information other than the printed word. Ownership of radios has nearly tripled in about five years (in the 1955 survey radios were reported in 14 per cent of the households, whereas in 1949* only 5 per cent of the households reported owning a radio). Quite apart from ownership, radio listening is widespread; less than one-fifth of the people in Bang Chan claim they never listen to the radio (18 per cent). Motion pictures are also popular. Only one-tenth claim to having never attended a movie, while half (49 per cent) say they have seen motion pictures more than ten times.

There is, of course, a strong relationship between exposure to one of these media and exposure to the other. Table 13 below indicates that the majority (64 per cent) of respondents who listen to the radio likewise report frequent movie attendance. Similarly, the majority (67 per cent) of those who say they never listen to the radio, reported that they go to movies rarely or never.

TABLE 13. EXPOSURE TO RADIO AND MOVIES SHOWS HIGH INTERRELATION

	Radio Listening		
Movie Attendance	High Exposure (regular or occasional listeners) (111)	Low Exposure (listen seldom) (148)	No Exposure (60)
High exposure (10 times or more)	64%	32%	12%
Medium exposure (4 to 9 times)	19	17	21
Low Exposure (0 to 3 times)	16	31	67

[402]
[241]
[228]
[244]

Exposure to the communications media is strongly linked to acceptance of a basic innovation such as the motor. It is not directly linked to acceptance of the other agricultural innovations (fertilizer, tilapia, mushrooms). Respondents who report frequent exposure to radio listening and motion picture attendance are significantly more likely than others to say they own or have used the motor. (Among daily radio listeners 88 per cent report use of the motor; and this proportion declines steadily until among those who never listen, only 46 per cent use the motor; for movies, the corresponding proportion of users ranges from 76 to 36 per cent.)

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* Siamese Rice Villages, op. cit.

TABLE 14. HIGH EXPOSURE TO COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE MOTOR

	Exposure to Radio			
	High			Low
	Listens Daily (45)	Listens Occasionally (66)	Listens Seldom (148)	Never Listens (60)
Small Engine Motor				
Used it	89%	78%	64%	46%
Didn't use it	12	22	36	54

	Exposure to Movies			
	High			Low
	Ten times or more (161)	4-9 times (60)	1-3 times (75)	None (33)
Used it	76%	69%	59%	36%
Didn't use it	24	31	31	64

Of course it is important to check whether these relationships hold true when people on different economic levels are examined separately; for literates as well as for illiterates. We infer that the basic link between use of the motor and exposure to the media of communication holds for literate as well as illiterates; for poorer as well as for richer farmers. More specifically, the relationship between exposure to the communications media and decision to use the motor is even more marked for less well-to-do and for the illiterate farmers, in contrast to the better-off farmers and those who can read and write.

TABLE 15. EXPOSURE TO MOTION PICTURES IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF MOTOR ESPECIALLY FOR THE ILLITERATES AND FOR THE ECONOMICALLY LESS WELL-OFF*

	Exposure to Motion Pictures			
	High		Low	
	(Percentage Using Motor)			
Economic Level				
Low	76%	(47)	46%	(52)
High	83	(66)	75	(45)
Literacy				
Illiterate	63%	(36)	44%	(33)
Literate	88	(77)	82	(61)

* Male Farmers Only

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* 207 Exposure to the media of mass communication seems to act, in
a sense, as a substitute for literacy. It may be that through
212 these means either an illiterate farmer can obtain information
about the more complex agricultural tools and methods or motivation
546 to try improvements, or both, even though he may not know how to
read and write. One may infer that he tends to act on the infor-
mation thus obtained, since he is more likely than his unexposed
opposite number to try out these innovations.
*178
*177 Acceptance of Urban Patterns
369 The printed word and the mass media are, of course, not solely
channels for the communication of knowledge. They are, at the
same time a means whereby the farmers may establish some sort of
contact with the more sophisticated world outside the community
even with highly urban Bangkok.

The survey indicates in a general way the extent to which
[291] the people of Bang Chan have accepted urban patterns. Their grow-
[416] ing acceptance of urban modes is readily apparent even to a casual
[207] visitor: many own shoes, flashlights, wrist watches, radios,
bicycles, fountain pens, modern furniture.* Other urban behavior
[493] is likewise beginning to be noticeable.

One very simple indication of the degree to which urban in-
[413] fluences have penetrated is the change in manners of taking
[352] food. The farmers traditionally eat with their hands rather than
using a fork or spoon. In Bangkok, however, eating utensils are
customarily served with the meals in restaurants and are widely
adopted as well by the city population. Some Bang Chan inhabi-
* 177 tants have picked up this simple urban custom and have substituted
*178 it for eating mainly with their hands. In Bang Chan of 1955, for
example, a sizeable minority (26 per cent) report that they use a
264 spoon, fork or both for the evening meal.

369 That such a simple question can roughly measure exposure
[207] to urban influences, is indicated in the following table, which
[546] shows that respondents who report customarily eating with "urban
utensils" are more likely to be exposed frequently to radio and
motion pictures and are more likely to have visited in Bangkok.

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[412] * Survey respondents report that their households possess a
flashlight (81 per cent); scissors (66 per cent); kerosene lamp
(27 per cent); radio (14 per cent). About 41 per cent say they
own at least one pair of shoes.

TABLE 16. INHABITANTS WHO HAVE ADOPTED URBAN EATING PATTERNS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO BE EXPOSED TO MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND URBAN CONTACTS

	Eating Pattern	
	With hands (242)	With fork and/or spoon (84)
Listens to radio		
Regularly (daily)	10%	25%
Occasionally	17	28
Seldom	51	35
Never	22	10
Has seen a movie		
Ten times or more	40%	72%
4 - 9 times	19	17
1 - 3 times	28	10
Never	13	1
This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok?		
None	26%	7%
Once	18	13
2 - 4 times	29	23
5 or more times	28	55

When acceptance of urban influences is measured even on the basis of this index, the evidence is clear that it is linked with acceptance of the agricultural innovations. Those responsive to urban influence are twice as likely as others to use fertiliser (21 per cent versus 9 per cent), one and a half times as likely to grow mushrooms (57 per cent versus 39 per cent), and one and a quarter times as likely to use a motor than the others (82 per cent versus 61 per cent). There is no noticeable relationship, however, between tilapia raising and responsiveness to urban influences. The respective proportions are shown in Table 17.

These relationships between acceptance of urban patterns and decision to use certain innovations remain constant for those on high as well as low economic levels and also for the literate as well as illiterate farmers.

6: Goldsen and Rallis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

Contacts Outside the Community

Radio and movies provide indirect contact between the community and the outside world and seem to encourage the acceptance of urban behavior patterns. (See Table 16.) In addition, however, there is direct contact between the community and the capital city. The inhabitants commute to Bangkok to sell their products or to visit. Some go to the city to live for a time, to attend the city's schools, to work as laborers or to serve in the military or police force. For example, about a quarter of the sample (26 per cent) reported that during the year preceding the survey they had been to Bangkok ten or more times. About a third of the sample (35 per cent) have lived in Bangkok, mostly for the purpose of working there. On the other hand, almost half the sample (45 per cent) have never been to the Don Muang Airport; and over two-thirds (69 per cent) have never been to the [illegible] Agricultural Fair.

One would expect that such direct exposure to the urban life and values of the capital city, for example, might be linked with greater readiness to try out improved methods of agriculture either because exposure to urban life may mean exposure to more information, or, less directly, may mean exposure to the urban values of economic self-advancement and experimentation. And there is, indeed, a relationship between exposure to the capital city and use of the motor. The two factors are not linked for all the residents--the relationship is a conditional one. That is, it is mainly among illiterate farmers where urban contact is associated with readier acceptance of the motor.

TABLE 19. ILLITERATE FARMERS* WHO HAVE GREATER CONTACT WITH THE CITY ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE THE MOTOR

"This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok...?"

Literacy	Never or once (Proportion who own or use the motor)	Twice or more (Proportion who own or use the motor)
Illiterate	44% (40)	58% (51)
Literate	83 (36)	88 (83)

* Male farmers only

In the same way, there is a similar conditional link between use of the motor and wider contacts beyond the horizons of Bang Chan. Visits to the airport and to the agricultural fair, for example, (both centers of contact with urban culture) are associated with use of the motor among illiterate farmers. If the farmer can read and write, on the other hand, he is just

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TABLE 28. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC USE IS HIGHER AMONG LITERATE VILLAGERS

Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?	Literate (163)	Illiterate (169)
No, never	27%	44%
Yes, for treatment	42	33
Yes, for other reasons	31	23

Apparently here, too, exposure to sources of information predisposes the inhabitants to greater acceptance of modern health practices.

Exposure to Mass Media

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Again, as with agricultural innovations, exposure to the media of mass communication is linked to acceptance of modern health practices.

TABLE 29. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC USE IS HIGHER AMONG VILLAGERS EXPOSED TO MASS MEDIA

	Movie Attendance		
Have you ever been to a clinic or hospital?	Ten or more times (161)	4-9 times (60)	Three times or less (108)
No, never	25%	32%	55%
Yes, for treatment	48	33	22
Yes, for other reasons	27	35	23

	Radio Listening		
	Daily or occasionally (111)	Seldom (148)	Never (60)
No, never	20%	39%	58%
Yes, for treatment	52	33	18
Yes, for other reasons	28	28	23

Mass Media as a Substitute for Literacy

It will be recalled (see p. 21) that the mass media seem to act as a substitute for literacy. The same relationship reappears here. The table following indicates that literacy links with use of hospitals or clinics only when exposure to mass media is rare. [212]

*178 With more frequent exposure to these media, the link between literacy and use of hospitals or clinics decreases.
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TABLE 30. EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA IS LINKED TO HOSPITAL USE, ESPECIALLY AMONG ILLITERATES

	Literate (Proportion reporting use of hospital or clinic)		Illiterate (Proportion reporting use of hospital or clinic)	
Movie Attendance				
High (ten or more times)	78%	(103)	71%	(38)
Low (nine times or less)	64	(36)	48	(111)
Radio Listening				
High (listen "frequently")	81%	(68)	79%	(42)
Low (listen "seldom or never")	66	(88)	48	(122)

*178 Acceptance of Urban Practices
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Table 17 showed that acceptance of certain urban practices was linked to acceptance of the major agricultural innovations. Acceptance of urban practices is also associated with use of clinics and hospitals. Use of modern medicine is significantly higher among those who no longer eat with their hands than among those who do.

TABLE 31. ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN PRACTICES IS LINKED TO USE OF CLINIC AND HOSPITAL FACILITIES

	Customarily Eat With Fork or spoon (84)	Hands (243)
Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?		
No, never	28%	39%
Yes, for treatment	48	33
Yes, for other reasons	24	28

*178 Contact Outside Bang Chan
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It has already been reported (see Table 23) that hospital and clinic use is higher for those who, during the past year, have paid more frequent visits to Bangkok. This correlation may seem, at first, spurious, since the main centers of medical care are situated in Bangkok. But the questions asked about contact with Bangkok for the one-year period preceding the survey, and visits to the hospital or clinic over an unspecified time period shows

The motor users formed a group with higher economic level, greater literacy, higher acceptance of urban ways of life, more frequent exposure to mass media, broader social contacts within the community, and greater use of credit facilities. Illiterate farmers might also be motor users, if their contacts with urban centers were extensive.

5. Acceptance of mushroom culture was a special case of agricultural innovation: a) as distinct from all other attitudes toward innovation, mushroom growers were not marked by their high positive attitudes toward mushroom culture; b) the investment in mushroom raising per se was less than the investment and risk required by other types of agricultural innovation.

6. The mushroom growers as a group distinct from non-mushroom growers were more literate and acceptive of urban ways. Tilapia raisers were of a higher economic level and had greater community contacts than non-tilapia raisers.

7. An hypothesis was offered: that innovations differ in complexity and investment of effort required. The more complex presuppose greater investment, work, risk and postponement of returns; hence this complex kind requires greater motivation than the simpler ones such as mushroom raising.

8. Use of hospital and clinic facilities was more frequent among the literate, those exposed to mass media, those accepting of urban ways and those having greater contacts with the city. Unlike acceptors of agricultural innovations, users of modern medical facilities were not of a higher economic level than non-users and could not be clearly distinguished on the basis of breadth of contact within the community or use of credit facilities.

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[412] 50.d. (In your household) is there a pair of scissors of any kind or not?
7. Yes, scissors 219
8. No 114

[207] e. (In your household) is there a radio or not?
9. Yes, radio 47
0. No 286

[402] f. (In your household) is there a winnowing machine, or not?
X. Yes, winnowing machine 102
Y. No 231

[243] g. (In your household) is there a windmill, or not?
[402] 1. Yes, windmill 161
2. No 172

[805] 51. Do you have a wrist watch, or not?
[405] 3. Yes 79
4. No 252
— No Answer 2

[231] a. Here in your household, how many buffaloes do you own?
5. None 81
6. One 27
7. Two 67
8. Three 61
9. Four or more 97

b. (Here in your household) how many pigs do you have?
0. None 321
1. One 2
2. Two 2
3. 3 or more 1
— No Answer 7

[235] c. (Here in your household) how many chickens do you have?
4. None 35
5. 1 to 2 7
6. 3 to 4 17
7. 5 to 9 31
8. 10 or more 243

d. (Here in your household) how many ducks do you have?
0. None 308
1. 1 to 2 9
2. 3 to 4 16
3. 5 to 9 58
4. 10 or more 42

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125 64.a. IF YES: At what age did he leave BC?
[166] 1. Below 15 years 8
[592] 2. 15 to 19 years 28
3. 20 to 29 years 50
4. 30 years or more 5
5. Unascertainable 8

d. IF YES: For how long has he (she, they) been gone from BC?
6. Less than one year 12
7. 1 to 4 42
8. 5 to 9 19
9. 10 years or more 19
X. Unascertainable

[464] e. IF YES: What various duties or jobs does he (she, they) do in
[463] Bangkok?
1. Housewife 17
2. Unskilled laborer 19
3. Skilled laborer 33
Armed forces 17
Service 9
Employee 5
4. Other (retired, selling things) 2
5. Unascertainable 4

[166] f. IF YES: During the last year, have you seen this person(s)
[593] several times, once, or not at all?
[602] 9. Several times 65
X. Once 16
Y. Not at all 8
O. Unascertainable 3

g. IF YES: Does he (she, they) make regular remittances to this house?
X. Yes 31
Y. No 56
O. Unascertainable 5

[207] 65. Do you listen to the radio regularly, daily, occasionally, seldom, or never?
6. Regularly-daily 45
7. Occasionally 66
8. Seldom 148
9. Never 60
— Unascertainable 14

[525] 66.a. Do you play the lottery regularly, occasionally, seldom, or never?
1. Regularly 20
2. Occasionally 54
3. Seldom 220
4. Never 36
5. Unascertainable —
— No Answer 1

b. IF REGULARLY, OCCASIONALLY, OR SELDOM: Suppose you were to win the second prize of 10,000 baht. What various things would you do with this money?
(See code)